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# "NOW WE FOLLOW OUR FATHER": CHRISTIANITY, COLONIALISM, AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION ON THE ISLAND OF DAMER, MALUKU TENGARRA<sup>1</sup>

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Writing of "social structure" in "eastern Indonesia," F. A. E. van Wouden observed that "the mingling of patrilineal and matrilineal elements ... in this area is a natural result of a former double-unilateral system" (1968:157). Social and cultural difference in van Wouden's paradigm is regarded as a consequence of the "disintegration" of an ancient proto-Indonesian form of social organization founded upon the principles of double descent and asymmetric marriage alliance.

With specific reference to the people of Amaya (*Mayawo*) on the island of Damer, one of a "chain of islands joining Timor and Tanimbar" of which van Wouden noted that no useful information is available, this paper argues that, contra van Wouden, cultures cannot be isolated from the wider social, historical and political context of which they are part. Central to this view, is the notion that local social organization is informed and transformed through the dialectical engagement with alternative, often introduced, ideologies and ontologies. In this connection, I suggest that the historical conjunction of colonialism and Christianity with the logic of *Mayawo* cultural practices has served, as Bruner put it, to "open up new spaces" (1986:152) within which local notions of social relatedness, affiliation and identity are expressed.

## INTRODUCTION

With specific reference to the people of Amaya (*Mayawo*) on the island of Damer, one of a "chain of islands joining Timor and Tanimbar" of which van Wouden noted that no useful information is available, this paper argues that, contra van Wouden, cultures cannot be isolated from the wider social, historical and political context of which they are part. Central to this view, is the notion that local social organization is informed and transformed through the dialectical engagement with alternative, often introduced, ideologies and ontologies. In this connection, I suggest that the historical conjunction of colonialism and Christianity with the logic of *Mayawo* cultural practices has served, as Bruner put it, to "open up new spaces" (1986:152) within which local notions of social relatedness, affiliation and identity are expressed.

## INTRODUCTION

...the transformation of a culture is a mode of its reproduction.

Marshall Sahlins (1985:138)

Writing of social organization in the "Southwestern Islands"<sup>2</sup> of the Moluccas, the Dutch anthropologist J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong observed that,

De Josselin de Jong's remarks closely parallel the conclusions of F. A. E. van Wouden, another prominent Dutch anthropologist who, two years earlier, stated that "the mingling of patrilineal and matrilineal elements ... is a natural result of a former double-unilateral system" (1968:157).

Initially, both van Wouden and de Josselin de Jong viewed social and cultural diversity in "eastern Indonesia" in terms of the differential "disintegration" (van Wouden 1968:85) of an archaic form of social organization based upon the existence and equivalence of "patrilineal and matrilineal principles of grouping" (van Wouden 1968:92), that is, "double descent."

Some years later, however, both authors modified their positions to the extent that de Josselin de Jong suggested that "the whimsical distribution of matriliney and patriliney in one culture area and among neighboring tribes" (1977:309) could be explained by the fact that "harmonic asymmetric systems have become disharmonic under the influence of neighboring tribes with bilineal ... systems" (273).<sup>3</sup>

The influence of neighboring cultural groups also forms the basis of a more recent study of cultural diversity, change, and "double descent" in the "Southwestern Islands." Following the hypothesis of Muller-Wismar (1913) and also it would seem, that of Levi-Strauss (1969),<sup>4</sup> van Jonge and van Dijk (1987) postulated that the original system of social organization which prevailed in the Babar archipelago was based upon patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Van Jonge and van Dijk concluded that the existence of a "disharmonic regime" ("double descent") on Dawera and Dawelor and an "harmonic regime" (patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence) on the island of Marsela was directly attributable to the differential historical influence of the matrilineal system maintained by people on the nearby island of Luang.<sup>5</sup>

Elsewhere in "eastern Indonesia,"<sup>6</sup> most notably on Timor, researchers have identified shifts from patrilineality to matrifiliation and from virilocal to uxoriocal

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Elsewhere in "eastern Indonesia,"<sup>6</sup> most notably on Timor, researchers have identified shifts from patrilineality to matrifiliation and from virilocal to uxoriocal residence with associated "payment" or nonpayment of "bridewealth" (Berthe 1961; Cunningham 1967:5; Schulte-Nordholt 1971:116-118; Friedberg 1977:141; Hicks 1978:86 and 1981; Barnes 1980; McKinnon 1983).

In this paper I suggest that in order to understand what van Wouden identified as "the mingling of patrilineal and matrilineal elements" in "eastern Indonesia," it is

To substantiate my argument, I examine the constitution and historical transformation of social groups known as 'houses'. Throughout the area designated as "eastern Indonesia" in the literature (cf. van Wouden 1935; Fox 1980b), the 'house' is an important social, spatial, and symbolic category (see Barraud 1979; Fox 1980:10-12; Levi-Strauss 1982:174, 184, 1987:155-159, 181). Among the *Mayawo* inhabitants of the village of Amaya,<sup>8</sup> on the island of Damer, Maluku Tenggara, *uma*, the term for 'house', simultaneously denotes a physical structure, a residential unit, and a descent-based social group. This paper is primarily concerned with the latter signification.<sup>9</sup>

### "PREVIOUSLY WE FOLLOWED OUR MOTHERS"

When *Mayawo* say, "previously we followed our mothers" (*lawadorcha odomo mlerwanodi renamani* or, in Malay, *Dulu kami ikut ibu*) they refer to a period in the recent past when recruitment to local descent groups or 'houses' (*Uma*) was largely determined on a matrilineal (*hrowol deweyeni*) basis. "Following our mothers" is also locally regarded as a reference to the line of women ('mothers') who link an individual to the ancestral beings (male and female) who founded the thirteen original 'houses' in Amaya.

Local accounts also stress that there was once a strong emphasis on village endogamy and that women formerly held and controlled rights of usufruct in their 'house' lands. These rights were passed on to their daughters. Women were always buried in the floors of their mothers' houses. Sons remained in their mother's 'house' until marriage, when they invariably took up uxoriocal residence (*klewonodi deweyeni*) on a permanent basis. Consistent with this pattern of residence, married men were buried in the 'houses' of their wives. In cases of divorce, separation, or the death of a wife, the husband returned to his mother's 'house' and was subsequently buried therein. Thus, the localized residential group depicted in these accounts consisted of a set of matrilineally related women, their husbands and unmarried or divorced male offspring, who occupied a single communal 'house'.<sup>10</sup>

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According to local people, authority within the *Uma* was exercised by the *regero*, the male 'house' heads. The position of *regero* was usually inherited by the

'house'. Upon 'payment' of a number of objects, which usually included two golden discs, two earrings and four patola cloths, the man remained in the woman's 'house'. According to Riedel, the newly married man subsequently "lost all of his rights in his parental house since he had been incorporated in his wife's family clan" (464).<sup>11</sup> Riedel also reports that the firstborn child of such a liaison was given to the woman's parents and the original 'dowry' was then returned to the man's kin. Subsequent children remained in the 'house' of the mother.

In Amaya today, members of each *Uma* reside in several separate dwellings which tend to be localized in a single area. This localization stems from the fact that each *Uma* is "mythically" linked to a specific area within the village (*lato*). In many cases, the territorial associations of *Uma* within Amaya are reflected in the *Uma* name itself. For example, *Porhonowey* means 'in front of the door' and indicates the general location of the members of this *Uma* in front of the entrance to the village. Similarly, *Tronanawowoy* means 'on top of the [village] boundary' while *Helweldery* means 'to the side [of the village]' and *Lutrunawowoy* means 'on top of the [village] wall'.

Nowadays, only a comparatively small proportion of people are directly affiliated with their maternal *Uma*. Of the 485 individuals who presently comprise the membership of the thirteen indigenous *Mayawo Uma* only ten percent are actually affiliated with the *Uma* of their mother. A mere two percent of this group also trace *Uma* affiliation through two ascending maternal generations.<sup>12</sup>

Genealogical records tracing descent through at least six generations clearly show that changes in the reckoning of *Uma* affiliation, notably the shift from matrilineality to patrilineality, became widespread approximately three generations ago. This time frame roughly corresponds with *Mayawo* statements to the effect that these local transformations in social organization are inextricably linked to and informed by a number of significant events which occurred during the early part of *Helweldery* means 'to the side [of the village]' and *Lutrunawowoy* means 'on top of the [village] wall'.

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1650–1775) and reached its peak in the years between 1825 and 1841 (Kolff 1840; Riedel 1886; Bassett-Smith 1893). A reduced Dutch presence in the area during the latter part of the nineteenth century reportedly led to diminished local interest in Christianity and a reversion to local ancestral cults (Riedel 1886).

*Mayawo* date the second wave of religious proselytization to the period around 1905–1915. Construction work on the village church is known to have commenced in 1918. By the time the church was completed in 1932, *Mayawo* had embraced Christianity and the transition from an expressly matrilineal form of social organization to a system largely based upon patrilineality was well under way.

The reintroduction of Christianity, and Dutch Reformed Protestantism in particular, undoubtedly played a central role in the transformation of local social organization. Based primarily on Old Testament readings, the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church in Maluku have always placed considerable emphasis on the role and significance of patriarchy within the cosmological order. From the abstract, yet undeniably masculine God of Genesis who created man in His own image and subsequently fashioned woman out of man, through the descendants of Adam to the patriarchal figures of Abraham and the later male prophets, the Old Testament theology of the Dutch Reformed Church has consistently presented a view of the universe in which masculinity is the dominant principle of identification, authority, and inheritance.

Some of the themes incorporated within the male-centered ideology of the Dutch Reformed Church are also located within the logic of local expressions of power and politics, as well as finding analogical form in indigenous cosmological beliefs. As noted previously, the articulation of authority in Amaya was (and still is) largely inscribed upon and objectified through the collective male body politic, while women, according to local accounts, largely controlled access to the means of production and reproduction. The differentiation of social relations in terms of abstract, yet undeniably masculine God of Genesis who created man in His own image and subsequently fashioned woman out of man, through the descendants of Adam to the patriarchal figures of Abraham and the later male prophets, the Old Testament theology of the Dutch Reformed Church has consistently presented a view of the universe in which masculinity is the dominant principle of identification, authority, and inheritance.

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The influence of Ambonese individuals and Ambonese culture generally in the region has also been noted by F. D. Holleman in his study of *adat* law on the nearby islands of Teun, Nila, and Serua between 1923 and 1936. An advisor to the Dutch colonial government, Holleman reports that the people of these islands base their lives on "an Ambonese model" (1943:383). According to Holleman, the languages spoken on these islands are gradually being "pushed aside" by Ambonese Malay and "the style of their houses, their matrimonial customs, the burial of the dead" (1943:383), and their judicial system reflect the Ambonese influence. He also remarks that missionary work, Protestantism, and education has been extremely influential in the transformation of local religious beliefs and social practices. Holleman reports that it was the Ambonese and not Europeans who were most active in this regard and who lived amongst the people for many years at a time. Holleman concludes that this orientation towards Ambon and Ambonese culture is the result of historical, economic, religious, and social factors which have led to the widespread belief that the Ambonese islands constitute "a metropolis of culture and authority" (382). As such, Holleman observes, "everything that is Ambonese is ... regarded as superior and therefore fascinates and induces imitation" (383).

The situation Holleman describes for the neighboring islands of Teun, Nila, and Serua can also be said to pertain to the island of Damer. *Mayawo* themselves state that early twentieth century Dutch missionaries to Amaya were accompanied by Ambonese Christians, who were largely responsible for the religious conversion of the local population. The official opening of the church in Amaya on 18 October 1932 was attended by both Ambonese and Dutch pastors (J. Lisapaly and P. M. Vellikoop, respectively).

Apart from their direct role in religious proselytization, Ambonese Christians on Damer also disseminated their own cultural expressions and predominantly patriarchal forms of social organization (which had also undergone quite dramatic widespread belief that the Ambonese islands constitute "a metropolis of culture and authority" (382). As such, Holleman observes, "everything that is Ambonese is ... regarded as superior and therefore fascinates and induces imitation" (383).

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Apart from their direct role in religious proselytization, Ambonese Christians on Damer also disseminated their own cultural expressions and predominantly patriarchal forms of social organization (which had also undergone quite dramatic transformations during the colonial encounter) among the people they administered. To the Ambonese and the Dutch, the local practice of matrilineality, predicated as it was upon belief in ancestral spirits and inheritance through the female line, explicitly contradicted the teachings of Dutch Reformed Protestantism and the social organization of Dutch colonial culture and was, therefore, like many other

and spanned a period of several hundred years. Although de Josselin de Jong concluded that Dutch intervention would not prevent such activities, the colonial pacification of the region in the 1940s ultimately brought about the cessation of so-called "headhunting" raids between regional islands.

Together with the Second World War, Dutch pacification improved regional transportation and communications which, in turn, facilitated the peaceful movement of people between islands. In some cases, this movement resulted in interisland migration. Thus, at different times after World War II, the village of Amaya experienced influxes of people from several nearby islands (including Kisar, Leti, Lakor, Nila, and Timor). The majority of these immigrants married *Mayawo* villagers and their diverse cultural values further contributed to the transformation of indigenous culture. More recently, Indonesian nationalism and contemporary capitalism have further served to inform the process of cultural change in Amaya (see Pannell 1990).

#### "NOW WE FOLLOW OUR FATHER"

Today, each *Mayawo Uma* consists of cognatically related individuals who believe that they are descended from a common ancestor or group of ancestral beings (either male or female) and share a common ancestrally determined name. Collectively, these individuals possess detailed knowledge of 'house' origin narratives and maintain primary rights of usufruct in 'house' lands. Past and present members of an *Uma* are referred to as *ono mamso*, the 'children of the ancestors'.

The term *Uma* is only used to refer to the seven founding 'houses' of Amaya and six additional 'houses' which are said to have evolved from, or be closely linked to, the founding 'houses'. *Uma* is not used to denote the groups of resident individuals locally classified as 'immigrants' (*nendatang*), the majority of whom

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involving 341 indigenous people for whom *Uma* affiliation could be traced back three or more generations, only approximately 28 percent of this group could trace their *Uma* affiliations to the third ascending paternal generation (i.e., FFF). Significantly, 91.5 percent of these latter individuals were under 25 years of age. Only four people under the age of 25 affiliated with their maternal *Uma*, however, of the people over the age of 25, 15 percent were affiliated with their maternal *Uma*. Of this latter group, approximately 87 percent traced descent from a maternal *Uma* in the third ascending generation. These figures clearly illustrate the recent nature of transformations in the reckoning of *Uma* affiliations.<sup>18</sup>

Whether a person or a group of siblings affiliates with the *Uma* of their father is influenced by a number of considerations. In one case involving three brothers, the youngest brother was incorporated with the *Uma* of his father so that he would later inherit the position of *Uma* head, the second brother was adopted into the *Uma* of his FF (which was not the same *Uma* as his father) so as to continue the line of descent while the eldest brother was 'sent' (*ono lo*, 'child go') to the *Uma* of his MMB (a different *Uma* from that of his mother) in order, it was said, to 'replace his mother' (*hawadedeli deweyeni*).

Contrary to the theory of residence and group affiliation espoused by Barnes (1980) and others, virilocal residence and paternally reckoned *Uma* affiliation in Amaya are not predicated upon the prestation of valuables to the kin of the wife/mother. I have, for example, recorded several cases of virilocal residence in which valuables were not presented to the wife/mother's kin and in which the husband's children are affiliated with his *Uma*. Moreover, in a handful of recorded instances, husbands who lived uxori locally actually presented objects to the kin of their wives even though their offspring were affiliated with maternal *uma*. To understand why this is so, it is necessary to briefly examine the meaning and role of the objects presented.

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Together with contemporary statements and actions, the previous *Mayawo* cultural forms and practices of matrilineal descent—uxorilocal residence and sanctioned premarital sexual relations (Riedel 1886)—strongly suggest that the prestations<sup>19</sup> consisting of one or more flat golden discs (*karcho* or *emas bulan* in Malay), a pair of silver earrings (*machotlina*), and one or more patola cloths (*vtola*)

the 'nakedness' (*yemkukuki*) of the woman. The second, and sometimes the third, prestation of *karcho*, together with earrings, are explicitly regarded as the 'fine' (*molmolcha*) component of the transaction. As such, these transactions are not characterized by an exchange of different valuables. If the decision to go ahead with a marriage is made by kin of the prospective bride and groom, the final prestation is said to 'open the door' (*ndolchi porho*) of the woman's house so that the man and his children can take up residence there. Upon marriage, the groom is physically transported over the threshold of the bride's house. In this connection, immigrant men marrying into *Mayawo uma* are also required to pay an additional *karcho* and patola cloth in order to 'open the door of the village' (*ndolchi porho latoni*). The marriage ceremony is only finalized after the completion of all of these prestations during the course of a single night.

Significantly, in many cases where the woman was not pregnant and the man was believed not to have had sexual relations with her, no objects were presented to the wife's kin. This arrangement, however, is largely based on the personal preferences of the woman's father. The nonprestation of valuables may, in some instances, influence the amount of time a man spends living uxori locally. Nowadays, the final prestation to 'open the door' is increasingly perceived as compensation for the loss of a daughter's productivity and reproductivity.

As I indicated previously, a comparatively small proportion of the population of Amaya still affiliate with their mother's *Uma*. In the contemporary context, as was probably the case previously, there are several ways in which affiliation to a maternal *Uma* is established. In most cases, individuals are formally adopted and raised by their mothers' brothers (cf. Cunningham 1965). At the level of kinship terminology, a nephew (or niece) may address MB as *Oma*, a cognate of the Dutch word for 'uncle'. In turn, ZC may be addressed as *ono dutcho* ('milk/breast child'), a term which emphasizes the fact that MB and ZC are linked through the maternal line of the wife's kin. This arrangement, however, is largely based on the personal preferences of the woman's father. The nonprestation of valuables may, in some instances, influence the amount of time a man spends living uxori locally. Nowadays, the final prestation to 'open the door' is increasingly perceived as compensation for the loss of a daughter's productivity and reproductivity.

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In addition, children born out of wedlock are always accorded membership in their maternal *Uma*. Thirdly, the children of a man who has married a number of times are often accorded membership in the *Uma* of their respective mothers—a situation which does not normally apply to the offspring of a permanent union.

the firstborn child is 'sent' (*ono lo*) to the wife's *Uma* in place of marriage-related valuables.

Another important consideration in *Uma* affiliation is the social status of the parental *Uma*. *Uma* in Amaya are classified, in descending order of rank, as *mahno*, *uhro*, or *ota*. In marriages involving individuals of differently ranked *Uma*, the children of such unions are sometimes accorded membership in the highest ranked *Uma*. For example, the offspring of a *mahno* woman and *uhro* man are often affiliated with the higher ranked *Uma* of their mother. Conversely, the children of an *uhro* woman and *mahno* man are nearly always accorded membership rights in the higher ranked *Uma* of their father.

Until now, I have largely been concerned with situations in which *Uma* membership is determined upon birth or within a couple of months thereafter. There are, however, a number of people who have 'changed' *Uma* affiliation later on in life. Thus, when a woman separates from her husband, she invariably returns to her natal household and her children, in many cases, become members of her *Uma*. Upon the death of her husband, a woman will often return to the house of her parents and take up residence there. The children who follow her often change their *Uma* affiliation to that of their mother.

Changes in *Uma* affiliation may also be associated with marriage, or more specifically, the facilitation of "extraordinary" (Bourdieu 1977:53-54) marriages (for a more detailed discussion of *Mayawo* marriage see Pannell 1989). Notwithstanding an explicit preference for *Uma* exogamy (locally expressed as *mehlim aliro*, 'marry outside'), it is possible for a person to marry someone from their own *Uma*. I illustrate this practice with reference to the case of a man whose paternal *Uma* is *Umpenawany* and maternal *Uma* is *Surlialy*. Together with his sisters and brothers, this man was originally affiliated with his paternal *Uma*. However, the woman he intended to marry was also a member of this *Uma*. To natal household and her children, in many cases, become members of her *Uma*. Upon the death of her husband, a woman will often return to the house of her parents and take up residence there. The children who follow her often change their *Uma* affiliation to that of their mother.

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of new dwellings for *Uma* members, misdemeanor settlements, and the funerals of *Uma* members.

Thus, changing *Uma* affiliation does not entail a loss of membership per se but involves the gaining of rights engendered by membership in a new *Uma* (cf. Cunningham 1967). What does change, however, is a person's named *Uma* status, that is, the last part of an individual's personal name will be changed to reflect their current *Uma* status. New *Uma* members enjoy the same rights and obligations as other persons in the group and, in many cases, continue to participate in the affairs of their previous *Uma* (cf. Berthe 1961:16-17; Cunningham 1967:6). Children who are adopted into the *Uma* of a collateral kinsperson continue to maintain a close relationship with their parents and siblings in their former *Uma*.

Notwithstanding the negotiability of 'house' affiliation, *Uma* are locally conceptualized as constituting relatively discrete groups of people. This is largely because, at any one moment in time, an individual can only possess the named status of one *Uma* which they share with a number of other people who are thought of as the primary members of that group. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between (1) the groups in which a person could be a member and has possible rights, (2) the group in which a person is considered to be affiliated with but is not an active member and no longer bears the name of that *Uma*, and (3) the group in which a person is most active and with which he or she is identified by name.

From the examples presented so far, it can be seen that several considerations are brought into play in the constitution of *Uma* as social groups. *Uma* are not simply and exclusively defined by the genealogical relationships linking living members. Indeed, genealogical ties between *Uma* members are often quite tenuous. A person's genealogically proximate relatives may actually belong to *Uma* other than ego's. Thus, consanguineal links between individuals cut across the network of social relations which define an *Uma* group.

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Nor can it be said that a person's *Uma* affiliation is exclusively predicated upon the prestation of marriage-linked valuables. Regardless of whether or not a prestation is made to 'open the door', residence upon marriage is uxorilocal. As I have indicated, this does not necessarily imply that children born into this setting will affiliate with their mother's *Uma*. However, it would appear that residence plays



matrifilially and patrifiilially constructed pathways. What is significant is that a person believes that they are in some way descended from the founding *Uma* ancestors, that they can demonstrably place themselves in relation to an *Uma* ancestor in the recent past, and that this belief is socially verified by others. The location of a person in respect to an *Uma* ancestor continues, therefore, to be one of the most important considerations in the constitution of *Uma* groups.

## CONCLUSION

Given the preceding discussion, it would be misleading indeed to view the social transformation from "matrilineality" to patrification as an accomplished "fact." As I have attempted to illustrate in this paper, social practices and the beliefs which inform them are in a continuing state of flux. These beliefs are constantly manipulated, suspended, or invested with new meanings by different individuals in different social situations. To speak of cultural beliefs and social action largely in terms of a system of dichotomies ("male/female," "elder/younger") and restrictive paradigms (e.g., "double descent") for which marriage (specifically, asymmetric prescriptive alliance) forms the "pivot" (van Wouden 1968:2) simplifies the complexity of social relations and codifies the reciprocal interplay and invention of cultural meaning. A perspective of this kind also disregards the diachronic constitution of social groups.

Social groups and cultural values in Amaya can only be understood with regard to their realization within a specific historical context. This is not to say, however, that the historical specificities of European colonialism in this region served as a backdrop for, or were articulated independently of, local cultures. On the contrary, as Taussig (1987) observed, the construction of a "colonial reality" not only required subject people and cultures for domination and conversion but, in order to empower and legitimate a hegemonic order over time, it was also necessary to recognize and appropriate indigenous practices and beliefs. Local cultural groups should thus be viewed as both constitutive of and constituted by the colonial encounter. The creation, configuration, and reproduction of cultural practices and social relationships in Amaya reflect this dialectical interplay.

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people to encompass a diverse spectrum of possibilities. Thus, notwithstanding the obvious influence of the historical events and relations identified in this paper, it is necessary to regard these factors as constituting only part of the process of social change. Thus, in Amaya, hundreds of years of European colonial rule and, at times, violent oppression, the reintroduction of Christianity, the presence of Ambonese missionaries, Dutch pacification, the influx of immigrants, and more recent developments were instrumental, though not exclusively, in effecting transformations in local cultural perceptions.

## NOTES

1. The research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Scholarship from the University of Adelaide and was conducted in Indonesia during the period 1986-87 under the auspices of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and Universitas Hasanuddin. A draft of this paper was first presented at the conference on Research in Maluku at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, March 16-18, 1990.
2. As Lebar (1972:110) points out, the designation "Southwestern Islands" can be viewed, in part, as the product of Dutch colonialism. The term was used to refer to the groups of islands situated "southwest" of the island of Banda, formerly the center of the Dutch spice trade. The term, therefore, reflects the specificities of both "history and geography" (Lebar 1972).
3. Many years later, after undertaking research in the district of Kodi, west Sumba, van Wouden also substantially revised his original argument that "asymmetric connubium appears to be based essentially on a double-unilateral system in which both patrilineal and matrilineal clans operate side by side in the organization of the tribe" (1968:163) by suggesting that "double descent" was not a necessary prerequisite of asymmetric exchange and that in particular

the more detailed ethnographies on social organization which exist for this region (e.g., McKinnon 1983; Barraud 1979).

6. The appellation "eastern Indonesia" is widely used by anthropologists to generally refer to the numerous islands and cultural groups located in an area bounded by the island of Bali in the west and Irian Jaya in the east. The term "eastern Indonesia" constitutes, I would argue, an arbitrary field of reference and does not correspond with any known culturally or linguistically demarcated area except that constructed, as a matter of convenience, by western ethnographers. In this situation, to quote Jean Baudrillard, "it is the map that engenders the territory" (1983:2) and not the territory which precedes or survives the map.
7. While J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (1977) contends that "harmonic asymmetric systems have become disharmonic under the influence of neighboring tribes with bilineal... systems" (273), Kennedy (1955) and Cooley (1962), on the other hand, suggest that the shift from matriliney to patriliney on the island of Ambon and in the surrounding areas is possibly due to the influences of Islam and Christianity. Elsewhere, Lattas (n.d.) argues that the movement among the bush Kaliali of West New Britain from a "traditional matrilineal totemic system" (3) towards a patrilineal system is directly linked to the processes of colonialism.
8. The term *Mayawo* literally translates as the 'people' (*doyo*) 'of Amaya'. For the purposes of clarity and ease of reference throughout this paper, I will italicize words derived from the indigenous language spoken on the western side of Damer, locally referred to as *Vnyola Mayawo*, and italicize in bold both Indonesian and Ambonese Malay terms. A note on orthography and pronunciation: the phoneme *ch* is pronounced as in the Gaelic word *loch* with bilineal... systems" (273), Kennedy (1955) and Cooley (1962), on the other hand, suggest that the shift from matriliney to patriliney on the island of Ambon and in the surrounding areas is possibly due to the influences of Islam and Christianity. Elsewhere, Lattas (n.d.) argues that the movement among the bush Kaliali of West New Britain from a "traditional matrilineal totemic system" (3) towards a patrilineal system is directly linked to the processes of colonialism.
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9. Throughout this paper, I use a capital U to distinguish *Uma* as descent-based social groups from the other significations of *uma*.

possible to trace genealogical links back three or more generations, 140 people or 41 percent of the group identified their *Uma* affiliation as that of their F/FF and FFM. A further 29 individuals claimed membership in the *Uma* of their F/FM and FMM. Significantly, nearly 90 percent of these people were over 25 years of age. Overall, more than 56 percent of the sample population traced descent, either through patrilineal or matrilineal links, from a matri-ancestor in the third, or higher, ascending generation.

13. This is not to say, however, that *Mayawo* culture constituted a static order of meaning and practice up to the period identified by local people. What it does suggest is that local exegetic accounts concerning changes in the reckoning of *Uma* affiliation are constructed within the horizons of people's experiences and memories of the recent past, which, in the case of many young people in the village, are also informed by the objectifications contained within local narratives concerning this period. As such, only cursory references are made to their relations with the Dutch prior to this century.
14. While early European accounts of other cultural groups in southwest Maluku refer to the role and significance of a male sun and a female earth deity in local cosmologies (Lebar 1972:111), discussions with people in Amaya revealed that no one could recall the existence of similar representations in local beliefs systems prior to the advent of the Church.
15. In this connection, an elderly *Mayawo* woman in her nineties recalls one incident in which the resident Dutch pastor in the village in the 1920s refused to christen her two daughters with the names of the two female founding ancestors of the woman's descent-based group. These names were regarded as "pagan" names and it was only after the woman had selected appropriate Christian names that her children were baptized.
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16. Early colonial accounts of the region also indicate that there was strong local resistance to the hegemonic policies of the VOC (Kolff 1840; Riedel 1886). Resistance against the Dutch often resulted in open warfare and numerous deaths (cf. Fox 1977 and 1983:15).



approximately 22 percent of this group had the same *Uma* affiliation as their father, FM and FMM. Furthermore, only approximately 7 percent of the people over 25 could trace their paternal *Uma* affiliation to the third ascending generation (i.e., F/FF/FFF).

19. *Karcho*, the primary category of objects in Amaya, are classified into a number of "quantitative" and "qualitative" (Valeri 1980:181) ranked categories. Thus, large, thick, golden-colored (indicating a higher gold content) *karcho* are regarded as superior to small, thin discs composed of a variety of metallic substances. Within the context of marriage or fine-related negotiations these "inferior" discs are frequently rejected by the woman's group. To send such a disc for consideration is regarded as an insult. It is also the case that each disc is ascribed a unique history of exchanges and associations (cf. Valeri 1980:189).
20. The MB/ZC association is not the only adoptive relationship, however. I have also recorded examples where children have been adopted by their MZD, MMB, FBD, FZ, FB, FMBSS, and MFZD. The reasons given by local people as to why children are adopted are varied. In some cases, a husband and wife may have no children, whereas the siblings of either parents may have what they consider as too many children. On the other hand, a married couple may only have daughters and, as such, have no male heir to inherit a title. In other situations, the family consists of only sons and a female child may be adopted to assist the woman with household domestic duties (cf. Cunningham 1965).

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN MALUKU 1975 AND 1977: AN UNFINISHED STORY

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## INTRODUCTION

Archaeological surface survey and recording of modern pottery making in Maluku were undertaken by the author and Daniel Miller (now of University College, London) in 1975, with further work carried out by the author in 1977. The results have been disseminated in two publications (Spriggs and Miller 1979, 1988), an undergraduate thesis (Miller 1976), and a typescript report (Miller and Spriggs 1976). A half-written monograph has been gathering dust since 1977. This presentation presages its contents and is intended to inform other researchers of the scope of our project. Our work was concentrated on the islands of Ambon-Lease, with shorter visits to west Seram, Banda and Kai Kecil (Map 1).

The delay in publication has been regrettable, but has allowed us to assimilate some of the results of recent linguistic and historical research in the area and fit our results into the emerging regional prehistoric framework, a framework which barely existed in 1975. Our results are reviewed in relation to general models of island Southeast Asian prehistory and the evidence for the involvement of Maluku in long-distance exchange networks in the last two millennia.

The original 1975 project, conducted when Miller and I were second-year undergraduates at Cambridge, was largely inspired by Ellen and Glover's paper "Pottery manufacture and trade in the Central Moluccas, Indonesia: the modern situation and the historical implications" (Ellen and Glover 1974). In that article, they suggested the possibility that pottery making in the area was introduced as a result of trading voyages from western Indonesia starting around the twelfth century

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